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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to present an outline of actual occurrences in communication and their social determinants in the small Spanish-English bilingual community of Los Ojos, New Mexico, with some emphasis on difference in occurrences as related to age. These generalizations are linked to past and current educational practices and social conditions, and the effect of these factors on communication behavior is noted. Individual sections of the report (1) describe the culture and area of Los Ojos; (2) discuss the varieties of English and Spanish used in the area and identify three registers involved in the usage of each; (3) discuss the factors affecting language use and demonstrate how these can be utilized to predict language choice; (4) consider how proxemic and kinesic behavior are affected by biculturalism; and (5) discuss the effect of age on communication behavior. A bibliography completes the report. (Author/FWB)

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SOCIAL DETERMINANTS IN COMMUNICATION EVENTS IN A SMALL BILINGUAL COMMUNITY IN NEW MEXICO

by JOSEPH D. OLIVER

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FOREWORD

This document has been commissioned by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics in answer to the growing demand for materials on the subject of bilingualism. Since the terms 'bilingualism' or 'bilingual education' are very much in the educational limelight these days, we thought that it would be well to look behind the scenes and describe the mode or modes of communication as well as other related facets of life of a small bilingual community - hence the anthropological rather than purely linguistic flavor of this document. We hope that the microcosm it describes will provide interesting insights to educators, and school administrators as well as linguists working in the field of bilingualism.

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A. Hood Roberts, Director
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SOCIAL DETERMINANTS IN COMMUNICATION EVENTS IN A SMALL BILINGUAL COMMUNITY IN NEW MEXICO

Joseph D. Oliver

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Purpose: The purpose of this report is to present an outline of actual occurrences in communication events and their social determinants in a single, small, Spanish-English bilingual community with some emphasis on difference in occurrences as related age. These generalizations will then be linked to past and current educational practices and social conditions. The effect of the preceeding on communication behavior is also noted.

1. CULTURE AND AREA

1.1 The area: The community under discussion is a small village in the valley of the Chama River in north-central New Mexico. It will be referred to in this paper by its older Spanish name of Los Ojos. Los Ojos is fairly near the county seat and is a larger, more active community than the latter. It has the reputation locally of being more "cultured" than either of the other two major population centers in the Chama Valley (the county seat and a market center to the north). Current population of Los Ojos is about 400 but, as the area is unincorporated, accurate figures are not available. The Chama Valley as a whole has a population ca. 3,000.

Though not a shopping center, Los Ojos is a ritual center as the Roman Catholic Church here is the "mother church" for much of the surrounding area of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

The high altitude (ca. 8,000 ft.) of the Chama Valley has a marked effect on climate, thus the economy. The climate is characterized by a short growing season and long, cold winters. The principal economic activities are related to stock raising, either cattle or sheep, and the raising of hay for winter feed. During

the period of investigation, jobs have also been available on a local dam project and a highway project. Both of the latter brought in "outsiders" thus increasing personal contacts with non-local varieties of language and language behavior. In the usual course of events, there is not a great deal of direct contact with the outside.

The shopping center to the north of Los Ojos is also a tourist center, both winter and summer, but few tourists come to or through Los Ojos as it is off the main highway and there are no tourist accomodations available.

Additional possible influences on language behavior, e.g. radio, T.V., movies, etc. will be discussed below.

1.2 People: The population of the area is 80% - 90% Hispano, descendants of the original Spanish settlers of the 18th and 19th centuries. The culture is dominantly a variety of Hispanic. The remainder of the population is classed as "Anglo" (which means only non-Hispano and can include Negro and Oriental as well as white) or "Indio" (American Indian, usually Apache.)

The villages of northern New Mexico were until recently (post World War II) quite isolated. In such conditions of isolation, life tends to fold in on itself. One's first loyalty was (and is) to the family, as it is in all Hispanic cultures; the second loyalty was to the village (Mead 1955). This isolation has also fostered the survival of a distinctly New Mexican Spanish language and folk culture.

1.3 Generalizations about Hispano culture: Hispanic cultures generally are based on an allowance for extreme individual autonomy (anarquismo, comparable to 'anarchy' but without the negative connotations found in English) within absolute boundaries. The regulations imposed by authorities are not internalized as a "superego" or "conscience", rather hace lo que le da la real gana (do as your heart really desires). If somebody really wants you not to do something a physical barrier will be placed in your path.

Further, Hispanic cultures are oriented toward persons as wholes, not as a collection or role attributes. A man is a man first (an expression of which is the exaggerated form of masculinity - machismo) and secondly a storekeeper, policeman, professor or whatever (Kenny 1965). Separatism as an expression of self and manhood is perfectly acceptable as long as one does not disgrace la familia.

The family is the source of most satisfactions for the Hispano. Fernandez-Marina, Maldonado, and Trent (1958) found the three primary themes in life to be high affection for the mother, male superiority and male dominance in the family. The primary controls are those imposed (externally) by the padre (father) or hermano mayor (older brother) if the father is deceased, or a surrogate. Secondarily, there are the controls of the Church or other religious body, but these are generally quite weak, though identification with the Church as an aspect of being Hispano is very strong.

With the allowance for autonomy goes an expressed desire for balance in all life. This finds expression in the concepts of disease which are caused by imbalance (Buettner-Janusch 1955, Currier 1966, Rubel, 1960). When imposition of controls breaks down, balance is lost. This is the case in acculturation and often leads to socially "undesirable" behavior (from the Anglo viewpoint, at least) such as excessive drinking (Graves 1967). Orr (1967) reports that Hispanos tend to be dogmatic and inner directed within broad limits. Kluckhohn (1961) feels that the culture can be characterized by value orientations toward the present, subjection to nature, individuality and a state of being rather than doing.

Culturally the Hispano can be seen as an individual deriving his primary satisfaction from his masculinity as expressed in his family, his language and his Catholocism. His controls are imposed externally by a "father". He stresses a fatalistic outlook and

tends to live entirely for today.

The preceeding are found in their most exaggerated form in the lower class, economically deprived individuals. As one rises in the class hierarchy, the appearance of specific Hispanismo becomes attenuated.

The social structure, of course, expresses the orientations above as does the rest of the culture. Traditionally there is strict segregation of the sexes both to allow expression of masculinity and to insure the presence of necessary controls on sexual behavior in later years. The family, primary and extended, is the principal structural unit but may be supplemented during adolescence by male associations and gangs (Barker 1950, Loomis 1941, Rubel 1965). After marriage the importance of these secondary groups for males declines considerably and never forms for females at all as they are expected to remain at home. In addition there are the ritual bonds of compradrazgo or God-parenthood. The primary padrinos (God-parents) are those of baptism who are supposed to look after the child if anything happens to the parents. One's padrinos deserve only slightly less respect than one's parents.

1.4 Social structure of Los Ojos: All of the generalizations about Hispanic culture above apply to Los Ojos. As the area is un-incorporated, what formal political power there is lies in the hands of the Parish Council locally or the County Commission on a broader scale. However, considerable power is wielded by the two wealthy Hispanos in town (brothers) and the Hermano Mayor of the local Penintente Morada. One of the two brothers mentioned is also chairman of the Parish Council. The one wealthy Anglo is completely outside the power structure.

The community has a basically two class structure, Lower (LC) and Upper (UC). One could argue for a three class structure (Lower, Middle, and Upper) on economic grounds, but the sole members of the Upper class would be the same two brothers mentioned

above and the one's family (the other is a bachelor). On any grounds other than economic (life style, language, behavior, politics, religion, etc.) there is no basis for more than two classes.

The majority of Los Ojoseños are Roman Catholic. There has been a small Baptist Mission here since 1947, but its appeal seems to be to those few who are otherwise marginal to the community. (Male informants feel it is impossible to be a Man, an Hispano and non-Catholic at the same time. It is recognized that most Anglos are non-Catholic, but they are not "real" men anyway.) The Catholic Church has masses in both English and Spanish but Feast Days, Holy Days and Fiestas are celebrated in Spanish.

2. LANGUAGES AND REGISTERS

2.1 Languages: There are two languages in common use. A southwestern dialect of American English and what can be designated the Chama Valley dialect of New Mexico Spanish. The best general description of New Mexico Spanish available is Esponosa (1930, 1946).

New Mexico Spanish is quite distinct on phonological and lexical grounds from the parent Mexican Spanish. Ornstein (1951) notes that there is a dialect boundary south of Socorro which marks the northern boundary of Mexican Spanish. Most scholars have considered the area of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado to be a single dialect area for Spanish, however, this appears not to be true. The local Spanish is quite distinct, largely based on phonology but there are lexical differences as well, from say that spoken in Española to the south, Antonito to the north, Taos to the east, or Cuba to the west. It is not certain at all where the dialect boundaries are located or even how many there might be. Given the isolation mentioned in 1.2, it seems likely that the main dialect boundaries would run north and south with the mountain ranges (which is how the kin links run), each valley

constituting the center for a dialect.

2.2 Class and sex differences: Class differences in language are most evident in English. Though it is true that no Hispano in the area speaks "standard" English, the UC speaker approximates the norm much more closely than does the LC. The LC individual when speaking English will typically retain "Spanish" vowels for the front and mid vowels of English. (Actually these are, in Haugen's (1954) terms, diaphones as they are neither Spanish nor English but Spanish-interpreted English). The LC speaker will also tend to apply sentence intonation patterns from Spanish to English sentences. Additionally, most LC speakers confuse the English /ǰ, š, č/ and equate them with Spanish /č/; this is also true of English /θ, ð/ which are equated with the Spanish /d/. This is not true of the UC speaker, who retains on occasion, a Spanish vowel "flavor", but it is relatively slight and can be eliminated by most UC speakers when necessary, e.g. formal or other situations calling for "good" English rather than everyday English.

Class differences in spoken Spanish are not as evident. LC speakers will use more Anglicisms than UC, but not markedly so. The UC speaker may read Spanish, therefore have access to literary usages not common with LC speakers, but again not markedly so. It may be that the desire for group identity against Anglo influence has led to a certain amount of uniformation of the local Spanish. It may also be that said uniformation is a result of the historical isolation. It is certain that uniformation was fostered by the educational system as Spanish was not again formally used after about 1930 as a language of instruction until recently. The usual mechanism (in Western cultures) for learning standard, UC or MC patterns of language usage is the educational system.

In the UC group there is also a sex difference in both

languages. UC females tend to use more English (that is use longer sequences, in more situations, for longer periods of time), partly because they are "in public" more than the men, either working or as community leaders, and partly perhaps because in some cultures women seem to desire to be more "proper" sociolinguistically then men (Labov 1969:30) and until recently in Los Ojos, this implied using a great deal of English in public situations. In the typical UC female there is a carry-over impact from English to Spanish. Their Spanish grammar tends to become more English, e.g., adjectives placed before rather than after the noun, verb constructions that while good English are poor Spanish. This is not true for males as Spanish is more the language of males and male activities regardless of class, which is in part an expression of machismo. A "real" man <u>is</u> Spanish. Age differences are discussed in sec.5.

There are, in the lexicon, places where the two languages can be said to overlap. There are a number of unassimilated loans used in either language. Which language these are, then, depends on which language they are used with. English terms of this class are mostly items and processes recently introduced into the culture e.g. headlight, snowmobile, hamburger, 7-UP, pump, etc. Spanish terms of this class are mostly personal reference terms either complimentary or derogatory e.g. <u>puta</u> 'prostitute', <u>caballero</u> 'gentleman', <u>pendejo</u> 'a person of no value' (also the term for pubic hair), <u>hombre</u> 'man' reference term for all males (informal) -- there is no equivalent term for females. There are more terms from English of this type than from Spanish.

2.3 <u>Registers</u>: In addition to the two languages it is possible to delineate at least three varieties (levels or registers) involved in the usage of each. One could, by analysing variance in elements in each encounter, derive as many registers as one has encounters to analyze. However, there appear to be no more than three major linguistic registers. By use of proxemic and

kinesic indicators, these can be modified to cover virtually any situation. (see sec. 4). Not all registers exist in the speech of all informants.

English 1 (Engl) is the most formal possible register of English. Though not quite standard (as above) it is the local interpretation of literary English. UC speakers, especially women, approach standard quite closely, the men somewhat less so. In the case of the LC speakers of either sex, it appears that the primary distinctions between Engl and Eng2 (see below) are not linguistic at all, rather proxemic and kinesic. This is probably due in part to faulty learning of formal aspects of English. Effectively then, LC speakers do not control full formal English, Engl with formal proxemics and kinesics.

English 2 (Eng2) is a colloquial informal speech based on Southwestern American English. It is, in effect, "normal" speech, neither elevated as is Engl nor intimate as is Eng3. All informants regardless of class appear to have a reasonable command of the grammatical aspects of Eng2, though earlier remarks on class differentiation do, of course, apply. Eng2 also supplies the base for Eng3.

English 3 (Eng3) is one of two registers of 'casual mix' in speaking. Basically it is Eng2, but with juncture words, insults, and some phrases in Spanish. In some informants it can be taken as the most intimate register of English, implying trust that the listener will not be offended by the mixing of languages. (Informants universally condemn language mixing though they engage in same themselves.) This implication of intimacy is not always valid for reasons discussed in sec. 5.

Spanish 1 (Spl) is again the most normal register, but of Spanish. It is easily distinguished by the use of the formal Usted and formal verb endings as well as elevated "style", i.e. clarity of enunciation, deliberateness of speech, and formality

of proxemics and kinesics. This should not be confused with literary Spanish as in most cases it is not. All informants with which this was discussed stated that they knew "when to use Usted" (which was taken as meaning Sp1 - see 3.5) but its use is more limited than Eng1 for reasons discussed below.

Spanish 2 (Sp2) is informal Spanish distinguished by use of tu and the informal verb endings. 'Style' is not as important (in the sense of 'good') as a large number of Anglisisms are incorporated that would not be found in Sp1, enunciation is slurred and the entire effect, even with formal proxemics and kinesics, is one of casualness. It is the analogue of Eng2 in that it is the "normal" level. It is the register most commonly heard in everyday interaction.

Spanish 3 (Sp3) is again the analogue of Eng3 in being a 'casual mix' and carrying some implications of intimacy and acceptance. It is Spanish based, with English phrases incorporated in the stream. English insults and junctures are not as commonly found in Sp3 as the Spanish are in Eng3, thus one is not the mirror image of the other.

2.4 Maintenance and change: There are a number of factors operating as language maintenance devices and an almost equal number of operations to foster change. As with almost all languages, the situation is not and apparently never was stable as the following remarks can be taken as applying only to the present situation.

The various registers of English, but especially Eng2, are maintained by the obvious social and economic necessity for learning English in a country that defines itself as English speaking. Virtually all economic activities, except for such isolated and decreasingly important traditional jobs such as sheepherder and cowboy, require at least a minimal amount of English. Schools were from the 1930's until recently taught entirely in English so most people in the area were at least exposed. As mentioned earlier, with UC individuals there is also a status factor operating

For most age groups, being UC implies that one speaks both 'good' English and 'good' Spanish. The local interpretation of what constitutes 'good' English is changing somewhat due to mass media availability, e.g., TV, movies, radio, etc. but not greatly. At least part of the reason for diminut ion of the potential impact of the mass media is an apparent lack of desire to emulate which is evident with regard to both English and Spanish. As can be assumed from earlier remarks on LC speakers, this lack of desire is most evident with this group. Additional factors which are operating with the LC to heighten this effect have to do with current political movements that were (and are) LC oriented and definitely "Spanish" in nature. (see sec. 5)

More than any other single factor, the desire for group identity has kept Spanish viable. The individual who denies that he speaks Spanish, changes the spelling and/or pronunciation of his name, etc., is subject to considerable negative pressure from the Hispano community. In Los Ojos he is also likely to receive an equal amount of negative sanction from the Anglos but this is not true elsewhere in the Southwest. (The general feeling is that the "good Mexican" is the one who acts like a "Gringo".) Spanish is the language that most children learn in the home. Some are not exposed to English at all until they reach school age though most are bilingual to some degree by this time. (Only 2 of 30 of the 1970-71 Kindergarten class were monolingual in Spanish, none were monolingual in English.)

Formal literary Spanish is taught in the local high school and is usually taken as a course by members of the UC. According to Gonzáles (1969) the most popular majors for Hispanos in college are Spanish Literature and Education and a fair number of the UC of Los Ojos have attended college (part of the reason for the reputation as the "cultured" area locally). However, the principal means for maintenance of Spl is the more traditional one of emulating older speakers of the community whose formal Spanish

style is considered particularly good. The Hermano Mayor mentioned earlier is a good example, as is one of the two ricos mentioned. Thus, though there is some influence from literary Spanish, Spl as used locally and literary Spanish are not the same.

Since World War II there has been a considerable increase in the importation of Mexican movies and records which corresponds with generally improved roads and communications. All of the movies shown at the county seat are Mexican; 50% - 70% of the records on local juke boxes are Mexican, and another 5% - 10% are by Spanish language groups from New Mexico though not from the Chama Valley. There are also three radio stations that can be picked up locally which broadcast in Spanish and there are occasional TV programs in Spanish. As is the case with English, the impact on the local dialect has not been great and for much the same reasons. There are a few "Mexicanisms," especially having to do with automobiles that have worked their way into the lexicon of some individuals. The general feeling with regard to other dialects was perhaps best summarized by an older male UC informant when discussing Mexican Spanish: "Who wants to sound like a Mexican? I want people to know where I'm from and they can tell by the way I speak."

3. DETERMINANTS IN LANGUAGE USE

3.1 Factors and role: Use of a given register can be seen as part of a role definition that the individual wishes to convey. However, as Goffman (1964) notes, it is frequently the case that the role and the situation in which it occurs cannot be separated. Therefore, when social determinanants are referred to, it should be understood that these are a combination of role of ego plus role of alter(s), plus the definitions of ego and alter(s) as to the other aspects of the encounter (formality, etc.)

3.2 Factors: To date there are thirteen interrelated factors which have been tentatively identified as influencing choice of

register (and proxemic and kinesic behaviors that accompany and modify them). Some of these are similar to those discussed by Dennison for Sauris (Dennison 1968), as well as having points in common with those discussed by Ferguson (1959) for a slightly different sort of situation. As with registers, not all factors influence all informants.

a) Ethnicity: In some ways ethnicity of alter and ego is the determiner for the operation of all other factors. Other things being equal (as they almost never are) a Hispano will speak Spanish to another Hispano and English to an Anglo. For instance, it is fairly common knowledge that the investigator speaks Spanish, but it is seldom that he is addressed in any language other than English except by friends. If the rule is not adhered to, one may assume that additional factors are operating that tend to override ethnicity. In the Hispano-Anglo case, this is usally either competence or closeness. There are also local Anglos who are not identified as Anglos (due to long residence, acceptable "non-Anglo" behavior, and knowledge of Spanish, which is not alone sufficient), rather "one of us" and are treated as Hispano.

b) Privacy: Generally speaking, public situations will call for more formality than non-public. In some younger persons and most UC, it also carries the implication that such formality will be in English. There is also the problem of what constitutes a public situation to a Los Ojoseño. This appears to be as much a question of who is involved as where it takes place. If strangers are involved, it is public, as it is if a mixed group, either sexually or ethnically, is present. To take a counter example, if only the regulars are present at the local bar, it is effectively a private situation though public in that anyone may walk in. At the local HELP Center (Home Education Livelihood Program), if only the three women staff or they and their friends are there, this is private. If students, non-local administrators, or the dentist (who comes

in once a week) are present, it becomes public and usually becomes an English situation as well as a formal one. Neither Eng3 nor Sp3 is used in public situations (except as noted for a younger age group. See sec. 5) Choice of other registers is dependent on other factors as below.

c) Formality: Formality is not really a separate factor as it is implicit in everything else. Formality may be seen as occurring in a number of degrees, corresponding in part to the registers which are utilized to express these varying degrees. Eng1 is more formal than Sp1, and Eng2 more formal than Sp2 (and perhaps more formal than Sp1.) There seems to be no difference in formality between Eng3 and Sp3. The most formal situations involve public speaking and interactions with individuals high in the status hierarchy and/or strangers. Of intermediate formality would be business transactions, conversations with acquaintances, responding to insults (for males), and song duels. (see p. 17) The most informal level involves interactions with friends and family members of ego's approximate age.

d) Competence: Though the assumption is often made that all residents of Los Ojos and the surrounding area are competent in all registers of both languages, this is not the case. In those situations which call for specific register (of either language) in which a given individual is not competent, allowances are made by those involved in the interaction (at least usually). Sp1, for example, is allowed at HELP in place of Eng1 in the case of one student, an older male LC former sheepherder who never learned English. If an Anglo friend who speaks no Spanish is in the local bar, normally an environment requiring Spanish, English is used in interaction directly with him, though those not involved will continue as usual. The reverse of the above is also possible and likely. That is, using a language in which alter is not competent for concealment purposes. Two female informants who are both

married to Anglos who speak no Spanish, regularly use Spanish to cheat while playing cards. This device may be used for public chastisement, but is not usual, both because as a concealment device it isn't very operative (most people do know both languages, at least to some degree) and because attitudes toward the languages are such that Spanish is not regularly used for punative purposes.

e) Sex: Sex of ego and alter has a marked effect on communication behavior. A male-male interaction is more likely to be in Spanish, register being dependent on other factors. A female-female interaction, especially if one or both are UC, is more likely to be in English. (Both the preceeding assume an "open" environment - see below). Cross sex interactions call for more formality than do same sex, as would be indicated by the cultural insistance on separation of sexes and sex roles. There are a number of ways of carrying out this latter requirement. One may go up one register, possibly to Spl or Engl, but this is unusual unless the cross sex individual is also senior in the status hierarchy (in which case it is the seniority that is the determinant, not sex). One may also utilize English, a fairly common response, or one may utilize either language, but more formal kinesics and proxemics than one would use with a same sex individual. This latter response is probably the most common.

An additional indication of cross sex formality is the (general) retention of title plus last name in informal interactions unless ego knows alter very well.

f) Closeness: In the above, closeness in the emotional sense has been mentioned several times. Generally speaking, the closer ego and alter are, the more informal the register used between them becomes, and assuming both speak Spanish, the more likely it is the register will be a Spanish one. This is obviously subject to modifcation from all other factors. If formal registers are used between close friends in an otherwise informal context, it is an indicator of anger or jesting.

g) Environments: It appears that some environments, though not necessarily classifiable on other dimensions, can be classified as "Spanish", "English", or "open"(Subject to other factors). This definition is a positive one for Spanish but a negative one for English. That is, bars and pool halls are Spanish areas (as well as being male-maleness and "Spanishness" again being found together). Until recently, schools were not defined as English areas, rather areas where Spanish was not to be used (or where one was not to be caught using Spanish). The only current clear examples of an English environment are the homes of some of the Anglos, and this (like all others) is subject to modification on competence grounds if no others.

h) Topic: Topic as a determiner is mentioned only because others have found it to be one in other areas. (Ervin-Tripp 1964) It does not appear to function as a factor in language use as such in Los Ojos. Academic topics are usually discussed in English or Sp3, but this is probably more a matter of competence. One female informant maintains she can discuss cooking only in Spanish as she learned from her mother who is monolingual in Spanish and has never learned the English terminology. Again, a case of competence. The priest notes there is a marked preference for confession in Spanish, but this could be situational rather than topical (and for obvious reasons, difficult to investigate further).

However, it should be noted that bureaucratic processes and interviews are normally in formal English. Requests for assistance are normally in formal Spanish while gossip is usually in informal Spanish. These may be topical, but may also be a combination of closeness and ethnicity.

i) Relative age: Assuming equal status other than age (see j), an older individual will use a lower register when speaking to a younger and vice versa.

j) Relative position in the hierarchy: This factor operates

in the same fashion as the preceding but is partly independent of it. One can be both younger and higher in this sense, e.g. a HELP beaurocrat to older student. (Which in this case would require English as well.) If the same register is used (common in drinking encounters, parties, etc. where a feeling of "peerness" pervades) either kinesics or address or both will be used to maintain distance. In the case of address, Don is still commonly used as a respect indicator, as is the American title plus last name. Use of mutual first names or nick names with equal registers and informal kinesics implies that each considers the other his equal and/or peer.

k) Language preference: There are individuals with definite and known language preferences, and for the most part these are adhered to by others in interaction with them. There appear to be more that overtly prefer Spanish than prefer English probably due to group identification and the feeling that if you use too much English, you're being "snooty." The language of last utterance may be an indicator of momentary preference of language or register choice desired by alter for the interaction. Ego can, of course, ignore this depending on his own preference and how he interpretes the sociolinguistic demands of the situation and himself request a shift by using his register of choice. Non-agreement leads to some frustrating but funny situations for the onlooker.

l) Punativeness: English appears to be the language most appropriately used for punative actions or reprimands. Mothers more often than not chastise their children in English. Persons attempting to break up fights and arguments will utilize English in the attempt.

m) Emphasis: A language shift can be used to emphasize a point or feeling. English swearing in an otherwise Spanish sequence carries much more verbal weight than Spanish swearing would. The converse is also true. This is not the same as the mixed registers,

as the mixed registers employ shifts for non-emphatic purposes and the emphasis shift may be used in otherwise "pure" registers.

3.3 General considerations: Considerations other than the above may enter into language use. Generally, the senior individual present will determine the language to be used in an encounter and all others involved will follow his choice, for whatever reasons made. This assumes that there is consensus as to who the senior individual is. Otherwise, a situation similar to that outlined in 3.1 k) may result.

In side involvements, a switch of language is often used along with proxemic indicators to signal such a side involvement is taking place. A shift into Spanish is typically used to signal role distance from an "Anglo" role, but there are no recorded instances to date of English being so used.

Stories, jokes, etc., are told (or retold) in the language and register used in context or in which first heard.

3.4 Attitudes toward languages: As indicated above, the attitudes toward the two languages involved in this bilingual situation are rather ambivalent in some regards. English is felt to be the more formal of the two, better for technical subjects and more "useful". It is also the more punative and least beautiful. It is the language used in contact with outsiders, in the normal course of bureaucratic affairs and in most business transactions, therefore "cold." English is also the status language and most informants maintain that they think best in English, speak better English than Spanish and generally prefer English to Spanish though it is known that they do not. This might also be the reason that Eng3 is simultaneously more intimate and more negatively evaluated. "Degrading" the status language is a more serious offense than it is for the non-status language.

Spanish is the more respectful when used to older or higher persons, the more intimate, and the more beautiful. It is also the language of the primary reference group, the only language appropriate

for song duels, proverbs and dichos, poetry and displays of affection.

All informants as noted, condemn the mixing of the two as is done in Eng3 and Sp3, yet these registers are commonly used as an indicator of intimacy greater than the implications of Spanish.

All informants are aware of the existence of two languages, but most are not conscious of the registers of each or of the factors that condition their use aside from ethnicity.

3.5 Utilization of the factors: With the above factors, it is possible to predict language use and to postdict the participant's interpretation of the situation (postdiction, as always, being the more accurate of the two) with a fair degree of accuracy.

a) Examples of prediction: A younger male Hispano passing the time of day with an older whom he knows quite well on the street. Predicted register would be Sp2 with other formality markers (age difference, public, closeness).

An older male acquaintance in interaction with a waitress in a cafe regarding his order. Predicted he would use Eng2 to her while she would use Eng2 or Engl with formal kinesics. If friends, whole thing would be carried out in Sp2, but with her using formal kinesics (public, status and age difference, sex difference, formality, closeness).

Two younger female Hispano clerks in an office, fairly good friends. Predicted language use among themselves would be Sp2 or Sp3 (private, closeness, non-formal, no age or status difference). To customer, regardless of sex, relatively unknown, would use Eng2 with formal kinesics (public, formal, lack of closeness, status difference).

b) Examples of postdiction: Older male customer and one of the clerks above, using Sp2 with formal kinesics and address terms -- he speaks little or no English (competence). If she uses Sp2 with formal kinesics and no formal address terms, either they are related or close friends (latter is unlikely).

4. PROXEMICS, KINESICS AND BICULTURALISM

4.1 Kinesics: The field of kinesics consists of the study of communicative body motions which are usually used as a suppliment to verbal productions, but may be independent. Kinesics may modify verbal productions by emphasizing or de-emphasizing them and in fact may contradict them to achieve a desired effect. Kinesics may also be utilized in identifying the situation, defining the actors involved or to transmit the "real" meaning in situations where the verbal productions are stylized. The practice in this study has been to take each group of movements (kines) that go to make up a kineme and simply lable it as a unit to facilitate later comparisons. This is what Birdwhistle (1960) has denoted social kinesics. Specific kinemes will not be discussed as knowledge of same is not pertinent to the purpose of this paper.

At the beginning of the study it was felt that there was a possibility that bilingual individuals might also be "bi-kinesic", perhaps to manage personal relations across cultural boundaries, or perhaps in an attempt to be "fully" bicultural. This has proven not to be the case. Each individual has a single kinesic system which he uses regardless of language used at the time or the ethnicity of alter. The content of kinesics systems does change when compared across age groups. The younger individuals in the community are likely to be more Anglo in kinesic terms.

Though the content of kinesic systems is the same regardless of language, how they are performed changes with precise degree of formality or informality desired. Taking the analogue of the intermediate registers as a base, if a more formal register is desired, motions are generally slower and more restricted. An arm movement kineme, for example, that in a middle register would be rapid and across the whole front of the body from thigh to shoulders with the hand relaxed, in a formal register (kinesically speaking) becomes a slow movement from waist to mid chest with the fingers ex-

tended and the hand stiff.

Very informal kinesics, those which accompany and are an analogue to Eng3 and Sp2 seem to be less important than the more formal registers. When actually accompanying a 3 register, this may be due to an increase in availability of verbal communication. What one cannot say, due to lack of appropriate lexical items in one language, can simply be stated in the other without a need for kinesic suppliment. In the very informal kinesics, the principal kinemes are still used, but those which may be seen as supplimentary are almost ignored.

The above may be modified by several factors, most notably by emotional states. If an argument or bawling out is taking place in Sp1 (common with older informants) the normally restricted motions which one would expect to accompany this register become quite exaggerated, even when compared to the middle register kinemes. Likewise, depression leads to restriction of motions in an "abnormal" fashion, occasionally giving the unwarranted impression of formality.

Kinesic register and linguistic register do not always correspond. Formal kinesics with an informal linguistic register result in a formality greater than the linguistic register, but somewhat less than the kinesic register. Informal kinesics with a formal linguistic register is either an insult or a joke, depending on the specifics of the encounter. In general then, if one desires an intermediate level, this is done with a lower linguistic register and higher kinesic register, not the other way around.

4.2 Proxemics: Proxemics is the study of general management of personal space (Hall 1963). The proxemic aspects of this study have been limited to axis (direction ego faces relative to alter), closeness, touching, eye contact, and voice loudness.

Though it was not expected or predicted, it appears that some Hispanos, while not bi-kinesic, are bi-proxemic. That is,

there is one set of proxemic rules for use with other Hispanos and a separate set for use with Anglos. The latter set is the Hispano interpretation of Anglo proxemics, and like the interpretation of literary English, less than perfect. There is an additional set of proxemic rules current in Los Ojos, the Anglo-Anglo set. This last set will not be discussed.

Each of the two proxemic rule sets above is also conditioned by formality factors. It should be stressed that language being used is not a conditioning factor, but ethnicity of alter is. Anglos who are not defined as such (3.2) are proxemically treated as Hispanos. We can derive four basic types of occurances in proxemics based on the above. The actual communicative "meaning" of these four will vary with linguistic register used, and accompanying specific kinemes. Generally kinesic register and proxemic set correspond e.g. formal proxemics are accompanied by formal kinesics though an informal lingustic register may be used as noted above.

a) Hispano-Hispano, informal: This is the effective analogue of the middle registers of kinemes and language and is commonly used with same and the 3 registers. Axis is somewhat variable but usually ⌀ ⌀ and the body is quite relaxed. Ego and alter stand quite close together, usually about 10 - 12 inches. Body contact, especially hand of ego on alter's shoulder or arm is very common. Eye contact is only occasional, and usually used in this context to indicate sincerity or seriousness. Voice loudness is quite variable as would be expected in the register used for joking and informal situations generally.

b) Hispano-Hispano, formal: As noted above, this set may be accompanied by 1 registers if extreme formality is called for, or by a middle register if an intermediate level is desired. Axis is usually ⌀ ⌀ , with the body being held fairly stiff and "proper". Ego and alter are about double the distance for informal proxemics, i.e. 20 - 30 inches if the situation is a face to face one (this obviously will not hold in some situations where this set is used,

as in formal public speaking). Body contact is greatly increased over the informal situation. Voice tends to be somewhat over loud or over soft, the first in public situations, the second in private situations.

c) Hispano-Anglo, informal: Registers apply as in a) but they are more likely to be in English due to the ethnicity conditioning factor. Axis is generally as in a), but the body is not usually as relaxed. Ego (the Hispano) will not normally approach alter closer than 15 - 20 inches which is still too close for most Anglos and too far away for most Hispanos' comfort. Touching will be present, but is much reduced from a), again adding to the discomfort of both. There is a great deal of eye contact. Voice is almost always one degree overloud.

d) Hispano-Anglo, formal: As in b), axis is ~~θ~~ ~~θ~~ . The body is much more stiffly held than in b). Ego and alter are 3 - 4 feet apart. A handshake upon beginning and ending the interaction are considered obligatory in male to male or male to female encounters. (The case of female to female has not been investigated.) No other body contact will take place. Eye contact and voice loudness are as in c).

In terms of communication distance, one can say that Hispanos misinterpret Anglo norms by being too close on the informal and too far away on the formal end of the scale. There is also the impression that Anglos are 'loud'. The Hispano has also noted the general Anglo dislike of some sex body contacts. The formality of the handshake appears to be overrated.

4.3 Biculturalism: Generally we can say that biculturalism could be measured along three interdependent continua in Los Ojos.
a) Biculturalism, to some degree can be viewed as a function of bilingualism. As bilinguality increases, so does biculturalism.
b) Interacting with a) is an age continuum, which will be discussed as part of bilingualism in sec 5. c) There also is the view of an

integration continuum from the isolated farmer whose contacts are almost all with other Hispanos and effectively remains in the Hispanic folk culture. There are a number of individuals who would like to be on this end of the scale such as the political activist who is attempting to live independent of the Anglo world, refuses to speak English or partake of other than minimal contacts with the Anglo business community. This latter effort, though a conscious attempt to be "Spanish" is not effective in reducing the degree of biculturalism for reasons discussed below. The other end of this continuum is the agringado who attempts to "pass" as Anglo and is integrated into the larger economy and social system. Most Los Ojoseños fall somewhere in the middle, with quite a few on the Hispanic end and almost none on the agringado end.

Biculturalism implies taking part in two cultures at different time. Ideally the "fully" bicultural individual would be able to assume an identity with appropriate language behavior, kinesics, proxemics, etc., depending on the situation in either culture and the demands placed on him by alter. As can be seen from the preceeding, this does not happen. In the middle range of informants, who constitute the type of cases discussed, there is a shift in language and proxemics, but not in kinesics. Further, the only real "cultural" shift is the proxemic one, as English has functions, especially those related to formality, in the current local Hispanic culture. In any case, the approximation to Anglo norms is faulty and in a situation demanding an "Anglo" identity, the identity is not attainable. This on occasion results in embarrassment which is seen locally as due to one's "poor English."

Since perhaps the only aspect of the local situation that is bicultural is the proxemic aspect, one might question the whole application of the term to Los Ojos. It appears that the area is Hispanic in culture with some Anglo elements and an additional range of linguistic registers to expand implied meaning.

5. AGE DIFFERENTIATED COMMUNICATION EVENTS

5.1 Age differentiation: At the beginning of the study the population was divided into eight arbitrary age catagories: Infant (I), birth to about three years; Child (C), three to ten; Teenage (TA), ten to twenty; Young (Y), twenty to thirty; Somewhat older than Y (MA), thirty to forty; Older (O), forty to fifty; Viejo (V), fifty to sixty-five; "Very" Viejo (VV), sixty-five and over. The majority of the preceeding discussion used, as type cases, the older segment of the Y group and the MA group, except where otherwise stated.

In discussing age differentiation, it should be noted that there are individuals who, though part of a given group, conform to expectations and standards of a different group, usually an adjacent one. In other words, the correlation between age and behavior is not exact, as one might expect.

The older groups (O,V,VV) are the least bilingual and/or bicultural, this increasing with age. A large number of the V and VV are monolingual Spanish speakers and the remainder of the older group has an imperfect command of English. Further, their command of English is usually limited to Eng2. As well as being largely monolingual as a group, they are monocultural and "monoproxemic" for the most part. Specifically Anglo kinemes that have been adopted into the overall system are seldom seen. Likewise Sp3 and Eng3 are never heard in their conversations. This is the pattern group for the younger individuals learning Sp1, especially the UC members of the group.

The middle range, (the older Y, the MA and a few O) are the biculturals in Los Ojos, if any can be said to exist. They are usually aware of, though the LC may not have command of all, all the registers in both languages, tend to be bi-proxemic, and have some Anglo kinemes incorporated in their communications. In general conversation with friends, Sp3 is much more common than Eng3.

(See also Bossard 1945, Dworkin 1965, Johnson 1951, MacNamara 1967.)

The younger group (C, TA, the rest of the Y), excluding infants, are also monocultural, though not monolingual. Like the middle range, they are likely to be aware of all possible registers though complete command is apparently not achieved until the late teens. In conversations with friends, Eng3 is the dominant register and Sp3 is commonly used with acquaintances, even in public situations. They also typify the attitude that everybody is bilingual. For this reason, apparently, the drawing of parts of different languages together for an utterance is of no import as long as the separate parts convey the desired semantic meaning. In this group, the assumption of intimacy stemming from the use of Sp3 is usually unwarranted. Proxemically, they seldom conform to the bi-proxemic model above, rather have a single system that is neither Anglo nor Hispano, but is a combination, the exact elements of which are individually determined. Kinesically they are the most Anglo of all Los Ojoseños. An aspect of this is that one kineme in particular has been taken over which older residents find offensive: pointing with the fingers, rather than with the lips.

5.2 Attitudes: Both the older and the younger groups are likely to identify themselves as "Spanish", "Hispano" or "Chicano" with considerable pride, (even though the younger group is less so in some ways than the middle group -- this too creates some friction). The middle group is that group that is likely to somewhat apologetically term themselves "Spanish-American", find embarrassment when unable to secure themselves in an Anglo identity if called for, and generally be "culturally confused".

5.3 Social and educational factors: The above generalizations about age groups can be fairly definitely linked to a series of social, political, and educational changes which apparently created the attitudes and definitions of self outlined.

The older group was raised in a period when the Hispano was

still politically in a quite powerful position. Anglo alliance with Hispanos was necessary if anything was to be accomplished. From this position of power the Hispano had written in the New Mexico State constitution guarantees of Spanish survival. For example, all teachers were to be bilingual, as were all courts, legal notices, etc.

At school they learned English, if at all, as a subject. Knowledge of English was not assumed when the child started school so he was at no disadvantage at not knowing the language of instruction. His teachers were also Hispano so there were no comparisons overt or covert, which tended to denegrate Hispanic culture.

The middle group was caught in a period of effective cultural decline. Rather than being an insignificant immigrant group, Anglos were beginning to dominate the political and social scene on a state-wide basis. Most Hispano land had been lost to Anglos through tax sale, appropriation for national forests, etc., in spite of the guarantees of the Treat of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. There were still pockets of Hispano power especially in the northern counties, but the representatives of the north found themselves outvoted and outmaneuvered by the Anglos in state government.

The dominant idea in the schools at this time seems to have been to assimilate the Hispano into the Anglo world as rapidly as possible (Diebold 1966:1). Spanish was commonly forbidden in the school except as a subject and then only in high school. At that, only literary Spanish, which has little in common with local dialect, was taught. Local dialect and culture were commonly referred to by Anglo teachers in less than glowing terms and children were punished for using Spanish on the school grounds. A knowledge of English was assumed (usually incorrectly) when the child entered school. Since the child did not speak English he was placed at a considerable disadvantage in his academic efforts which led to

further decrease of his estimation of himself and Hispanos generally.

There are a number of possible reactions to this last sort of situation. One may totally identify with Hispano culture, rejecting the Anglo entirely, dropping out of school at the earliest date, etc. (Hertzler 1965). One may attempt to conform to the expectations of both cultures and attempt to become bicultural thereby. Or, one may identify with Anglo culture entirely, change the spelling and pronounciation of one's name, deny one speaks Spanish and generally attempt to be Anglo. All of these responses were taken to by varying numbers of individuals. The first response was more typical for those who are now UC. The third was utilized by a small minority of both groups.

With the younger group, conditions in terms of cultural effectiveness are again on the upswing. In the last ten to fifteen years there has been an increasing awareness of Hispanic identity and potential political leverage including one movement that Gonzáles (1969) analyzes as an effective natavistic movement.

It has now been acknowledged that it is not reasonable to expect a non-English speaking child to speak English in the schools so Spanish is "allowed." Unfortunately, the allowance of Spanish without active promotion of same may have fostered the casualness with language in the younger group discussed above (as in use of Sp3 in public situations).

However, in terms of selfhood, identity, and cultural survival, it must be noted that the younger group has a marked advantage over the middle. They are not being placed in the position of having to reject their culture and language in order to achieve academic success.

5.4 Bilingualism in general: As the foregoing indicates, there are marked differences in the attitudes towards bilingualism and the position it should take in life in general. Most Hispanos are proud of being "American" and are aware that this includes,

of necessity, speaking English.

Questions concerning the desirability of official bilingualism for the state of New Mexico (modeled after Canada, Switzerland, etc.) and school bilingualism (after Bull 1955 and Gaarder 1967) were asked of a number of informants. The middle group, with few exceptions, condemn both ideas as unnecessary and, indeed, un-American. Both the younger and older groups would be strong supporters of such innovations if they were introduced while being aware of the problems involved. Problems cited by informants included possible extension to other areas of non-Spanish bilingualism, either European or Amerind languages, and implimentation of bilingualism in dominantly Anglo schools in the south, e.g., Albuquerque and the southeastern counties collectively known as "Little Texas".

In the first cited problem, many of the older group had worked at one time or another in the middle west and were quite impressed with the number of German and Scandinavian speakers. The response to the school "problem" was to note that if bilingual schools were implemented in New Mexico, people such as those in the middle west would then have equal claim to bilingual schools. The informants were uncertain as to the desirability of this.

All informants were aware of the "Anglo problem," and this was one reason for rejection of bilingual schools by the middle group. No informants, including those who assessed favorably bilingual schools, could offer suggestions toward solution as the Anglo is viewed as being adamantly "English."

The rationale for positive evaluation of bilingual schools seemed to be largely on the basis of "need" and "good of the country." Several informants cited the possibilities of improving Latin American relations, and all felt that the academic, therefore the economic success of Hispanos would increase under such a system, thus be "good for the country."

The notion of official bilingualism seemed to be assessed on different terms. The most often mentioned rationale was that there are many monolinguals in both languages who would benefit from such a move. There were also elements of Hispanic pride evident, usually expressed as, "We were here

6. CONCLUSIONS

Given the age differentiated attitudes and events above, it is evident that at least four courses are possible with regard to education, three of which have been tried and found lacking.

The course followed with the older group would no longer be feasible. The economic system of the U.S. as a whole, of which the Chama Valley is now a part, would virtually preclude such an orientation. At the time the older group was in school, the people of the Chama Valley were largely independent farmers and ranchers with an adequate land base. At this time, knowledge of English and education in general was of no particular importance.

The efforts with the middle group did produce a certain number of "bicultural" individuals who can survive in the modern economy, but also produced a large group of people who completely rejected "the Anglo" and all he stands for except welfare payments. There is also the possibility that such orientations on the part of larger society as expressed in the school, led to an increase in anti-social activity (Graves 1967).

Recent practice, at least in the Chama Valley, has been more positive for the individuals involved in the educational process. However, this has also led to an apparent decreased consciousness of language used and the social functions of language aside from semantics.

While casual "allowance" is an improvement over forbidding it entirely, one might speculate that the positive benefits would be further increased by active promotion of both languages.

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